

Message Text

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SUBJECT: SPANISH FOREIGN MINISTER ADDRESSES "STRATEGIC FACTORS IN
SPANISH FOREIGN POLICY"

SUMMARY IN ADDRESSING A 13TH ANNIVERSARY GATHERING AT SPAIN'S
NATIONAL WAR COLLEGE (CESEDEN) ON MARCH 1 ON SPAIN'S STRATEGIC
POSITION, FOREIGN MINISTER OREJA, WITH OUT MENTIONING NATO,
PROVIDED SOMETHING OF A COMPENDIUM OF FACTORS WHICH IT CAN BE
ASSUMED ALSO INFLUENCE HIS THINKING ON THE NATO MEMBERSHIP ISSUE.
HIS CONCLUSION:".... THE REALITY WHICH THE WORLD OF TODAY IMPOSES
ON US IS THAT OF INTERDEPENDENCE AND SOLIDARITY." END SUMMARY

1. POINTING UP THE IMPORTANCE OF STRATEGIC FACTORS WHICH SHOULD
WEIGH IN SPANISH POLICY CONSIDERATIONS,
OREJA LISTED (IN THIS ORDER)C
A. SPAIN'S OWN DEFENSE SYSTEM (ITS ARMED FORCES) WHICH SHOULD
NOT ONLY SERVE FOR THE EVENTUALITY OF WAR BUT SHOULD ALSO PLAY A
ROLE IN DETERRENCE AND IN SUPPORTING SPECIFIC FOREIGN POLICY
OBJECTIVES (TACIT NEGOTIATIONS), BOTH ALONE AND IN CONCERT WITH
OTHER NATIONS. IN SHORT THE SPANISH ARMED FORCES SHOULD BECOME AN
EFFECTIVE INSTRUMENT OF FOREIGN POLICY TO THE EXTENT NATIONAL
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RESOURCES ALLOW.
B. SPANISH GEOGRAPHY ITS SIZE AN ADVANTAGE, ITS LOCATION A
PRIVILEGE ONLY IF SUPPORTED BY APPROPRIATE MILITARY MEANS
AND POLITICAL ACTION.
C. ECONOMIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL FACTORS, WITH RESPECT TO BOTH
OF WHICH AUTARKY WOULD BE UTOPIAN.
D. STRATEGIC INTELLIGENCE (THE NEED FOR MORE)

E. ALLIANSCES. REJECTING SELF SUGGICIENCY AS NEVER FULLY ACHIEVED IN THE PAST AND IMPOSSIBLE IN THE PRESENT. OREJA ARGUED THAT REALITY IMPOSES INTERDEPENDENCE AND SOLIDARITY EVEN MORE SO IF A NATIONAK WISHS TO PLAY AN ACTIVE ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS. " AS A RESULT WE SHALL HAVE TO GET ACCUSTOMED TO THE DILEMMA OF MAINTAINING CERTAIN FREEDOM OF MANEUVER OR ACCRPTING FREELY CERTAIN TIES AND OBLIGATIONS INRETURN FOR ADVANTAGES COMPENSATING THE SACRIFICE". THE THMEE REQUIRED A " GREAT NATIONAL DEBATE", BUT AT THIS JUNCTURE HE WOULD ONLY ASK. "CAN AND SHOULD SPAIN OPT FOR A CERTAIN ISOLATIONST SOLITUDE IN A WORLD IN WHICH ALLIANCES ARE THE DAILY BREAD OF INTERNATIONAL ACTION?" AND MORE" NEUTRALITY TODAY GUARANTEES NO PERMANENT EXCEPTION FROM POSSIBLE CONFLICT COINCIDENCE OF INTEREST WITH POSSIBLE ASSOCIATES SHOULD, IN ANY CASE, BE THE PRINCIPAL CRITERION OREINTING SPANISH FOREIGN POLICY ON JOINING ALLIANCES. FROM NO ALLIANCE SHOULD SPAIN EXPECT AN ABSOLUTE GUARANTEE OF ITS SECURITY. GIVEN THE UNCERTAINTIES OF ALLIANCE SOLIDARITY IN A NUCLEAR CONFLICT SPAIN SHOULD NOT CONSIDER IN HER OWN INTEREST AN ABSOLUTE AND UNCONDITIONAL OBLIGATION. BUT, FINALLY IN NO CASE SHOULD SPAIN RENOUNCE PARTICIPATION IN A NEW FOREIGN ARENA SIMPLY BECAUSES IT ENTIALS STRATEGIC OBLIGATIONS FOR TO DO SO WOULD PLACE SPAIN AT A POLITICAL DISADVANTAGE VIS A VIS THOSE NOT SHARING SUCH CONCERNS.

2. OREJA WENT ON TO CHARACTERIZE REGIONALISM AS A FACT OF LIFE IN SPAIN'S INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT COMPLICATED BY THE FACT THAT SPAIN FINDS ITSELF IN THREE REGIONS: EUROPEAN MEDITERRANEAN AND ATLANTIC (IN THAT ORDER). WITH RESPECT TO THE FIRST POLARIZAION IN EUROPE HAD LED SPAIN TO CHOOSE THE BEST UNCLASSIFIED

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OPTION AVAILABLE AT THE TIME, THE TIE TO THE UNITED STATES. " IF THIS ALTERNATIVE HAS NOT BEEN PERFECT, S FEW ARE IN FACT, IT HAS BEEN SUFFICIENTLY EFECTIVE TO OBTAIN GREATER SECURITY AND TO IMPROVE OUT MILITARY POTENTIAL, WITHOUT SPAIN'S BEING TIED BY OBLIGATIONS OF AN ALLIANCE. CONTEMPLATING IN RETROSPECT THE AGREEMENTS WITH THE UNITED STATES ONE APPRECIATES, INTER ALIA, TWO CONSEQUENCES VALID FOR THE PRESENT. ONE OF THEM, THE CREATION OF A FURITFUL BASE OF COLLABORATION. THE OTHER, REVELATION OF THE INCOHDRENCE OF SECURITY INTHE EUROPEAN AREA IF SPAIN IS ABSENT".

3. A CAREFUL REVIEW OF SPANISH STRATEGY ON EUROPEAN SECURITY IS NEEDED, HE ARGUED, AND SHOULD TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE FOLLOWING CRITERIA, AMONG OTHERS.

A. SPANISH ARMED FORCES ARE TO BE STRENGTHENED FOR THIER OWN BENEFIT AS WELL AS TO CONTRIBUTE TO EUROPEAN DEFENSE.

B. THE RECOVERY OF GIBRALTAR IS NOT TO BE INTERFRED WITH.

C. SPAIN'S INDIVIDUALTIY AND PARTICULAR CIRCUMSTANCES, SOME NOT

OF HER OWN MAKING MUST BE GIVEN CONSIDERATION.

4. OREJA ALSO POINTED TO THE IMPORTANCE OF CLOSE BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH PORTUGAL SPAIN'S STRONG INTENT NOT TO ALLOW ANY "EXTREMEOUS FACTOR" TO INTRODUCE ITSELF INTO HER "FRUITFUL RELATIONS OF FRIENDSHIP WITH THE ARAB COUNTRIES, THE SPANISH OBJECT OF MEDITERRANEAN CONTURES FILLING THE POWER VACUUM IN THE MEDITERRANEAN BUT THE UTOPIAN NATURE OF ANY EXPECTATION THAT OURSIDE GREAT POWER NAVAL FORCES CAN BE REMOVED UNTIL THIS HAS COME TO PASS: SPAIN'S VOCATION TO PROMOTE CLOSER RELATIONS AMONG MEDITERRANEAN STATES (HE RECALLED THE SPANISH POSURE AT CSCE); THE COUNTRIES OF WHICH "HAVE NOTHING TO FEAR FROM SPAIN" SPAIN'S MANDATE TO CARE FOR SECURITY IN THE STRAIT OF GIBRALTAR (HE TERMED THE NEED OF CONTROL", NOT "POSSESSION" WITHOUT FURTHER ELABORATION); SPAIN'S WESTERN AS WELL AS SOUTHERN VOCATION IN ATLANTIC TERMS AND THE EXPANDING DEFINITION OF "ATLANTIC" TO INCLUDE THE SOUTH ATLANTIC SPAIN'S STRONG TIES TO LATIN AMERICA (NOT STRATEGIC).
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AND SPAIN'S DEDICATION TO THE PURSUIT OF PEACE THROUGH A "STABILIZED EQUILIBRIUM".

5. ALL IN ALL, CONSIDERABLE TOUR DE FORCE, AND THE FIRST SUCH FULL ATTENTION GIVEN TO STRATEGIC ISSUES IN A PUBLIC ADDRESS BY THIS GOVERNMENT. FULL TEXT POUCH TO EUR/WE.EATON

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